To deep that its dissention would not lead to opposite results, would be lodeny that any necessity existed for its formation, to ignere all the teachings of history, and all the experience of mankind.

If the condicting interests growing out of a diversity of soil, climate and productions, cannot be reconciled under the protecting care of a government emanating from the people, it would be a folly and delusion to suppose they would not clash as between separate and rival confederaces.

Reg would not case as a second of the Reptence of South American republies affords ample proof of the dangers to be apprehended from the jarring interests of independent and sovereign States, with no common arbiter invested with authority to settle their differences, and with power to make its decrees respected.

with no common a biter invested with authority to settle their differences, and with power to make its decrees respected.

But the proof in support of the proposition is not confined to indirect and inferential testimony. It rests on the higher evidence of plain constitutional provisions, about which there can be no dispute.

By article sixth, section second, the constitution and all laws made in pursuance thereof are declared to be the supreme law of the land, and to be parameunt to the constitutions and laws of the several states. There is no limitation to the operation of these provisions, and no qualification of them from other passages. They must stand in all their breadth and significance until the constitution shall be amended or until it shall be overthrown by a successful revolution.

The constitution against secsions.

We have thus endeavored to show that the propositions set forth are in harmony with the constitution, and that the principles which they embody are logical deductions from its positive crovisions. In the face of these there can be no constitutional right of secsion, since to suppose so would be to claim for the ordinance of a state a parameunt authority over the constitution and laws of the Union, to deny the right of our ancestors to bind their posterity by their acts, and to make the noblest system of government the world has ever seen the sport and the football of dangerous and designing men.

The citizens of South Carolina reason on this subject as if the constitution of 1789 was not a realisty, and as if we were still being under the old articles of confederation. But the old system with all its defects has passed away, and in its place we have a national givernment deriving authority from the people and invested with power to make the constitution, and the laws made in paramence to make the constitution, and the laws made in paramence thereof, respected and object.

Even supposing the constitution a compact between sovereign States, there would still have operated on individuals;

Convention.

In the Legislature of South Carolina in 1783, on the question of calling a convention of the people to ratify the constitution, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney spoke as fol-

compelled us to assert it, the declaration is made in second lowing words:

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States, &c., &c., &do in the name, &c., of the good people of these colories, selemnly publish, &c., that these united evionics are, and of right cought to be, free and individual sovereignty of the several States were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed this declaration.

ightened band of patriots who framed this declaration.

SECESSION AND POLITICAL HERSEY.

The several States are not even mentioned by name in any part, as if it was intended to impress the maxim on america that our freedom and independence arose from our union, and that without it we could never be free or independent. Let us, then, consider all attempts to weaken the Union by maintaining that each State is reparately and individually independent, as a species of political heresy, which can never benefit us, but may bring on us the most reviews distress.

During the nullification excitement in South Carolina, Mr. Brimke, then a member of the State Senate, made a most able and caltorate speech in favor of the Union, in which he thus renclusively discosed of the question of state sowereignty and of the constitutional right of a State to second from the confe-teracy....

cencinsively associated of the question of State sovereignty and of the constitutional right of a State to secole from the confederacy:—

There never was a time when the States were regarded as separate nations by other nations. The trided State, seas before the articles of conjederation, exercine station, as to the root of the world. The colonic appeared before the world as thereon separate independent States by the Declaration of the root of the corticle of the states of the foreign secondary by the Declaration of the root of the foreign secondary by these as to that. Practically, Europe knew action of the several States. She only knew the confederacy of States.

This was still more manifest after the confederation for then all the branches of the foreign sovereignty were vested in Congress, as the international representative, as, indeed, they had been, in all material respects, before. But when the basical constitution of 1759 was adopted, heyond all question, under that every atom of foreign sovereignty is stripped from the States and vested in the new government. Every attribute of international existence is parted with; and no State can ever be repossessed of any one of them but by a successful civil war, or by the consent of the rest to a dissolution of the Union, and the restoration of the coded authority to the States.

South Carolina, precively, were was insuen as a metion. The very idea would excite a smile in every choinest of Europe. Theoretically, as well as practically, she is now, beyond all soubt, utterly unknown by her own act, under the constitution of 178s. It would be idle to talk to European nations about reserved rights. The answer would be, we know you not. We know the government of the United States; the President as the head of the diplomatic department; the President and the Senate as the treaty making authority; the President, Senate and House of Representatives as the war declaring power. These we know, and, as represented by them, we know the United States as one nation. But who are you? Your own act justifies and requires us to regard you not as a nation, as

act justifies and requires us to regard you not as a nation, as only a part of one

Again, if the dectrine of secession is ir reconcilable with the constitution of the United States, it is a question whether it finds any more warrant in the constitution of the second States. Such a measure is neither contemplated nor provided for in any organic law; and the acts of Legislatures calling conventions to take the subject into consideration would appear to be beyond the scope of their legislimate powers. It is nothing less than a deliberate attempt to substitute for the decisions of the Supreme Court, whose jurisdiction extends to all questions arising under the constitution and the laws, the dangerous action of revolutionary tribunals. Nor will the proceedings of the Legislatures which called them together. To pass an ordinance of accession may be an easy matter; but when the conventions be any more regular than the action of the Legislatures which called them together. To pass an ordinance of recession may be an easy matter; but when it comes to releasing citizens from their eaths of allegiance to super it constitution which the people of the United States, by a solemn act of ratification, made inpreme over all other constitutions; when it comes to resig the laws of Congress, made in accordance therewill, and to explicit be garrisons from the national forts unitered to the constitutions to such proceedings or quality the interpretation which the civilized world will assuredly put upon them. It would be more magnanimous for the citizens of the seconding such acts, as constitutional remedies, to come out boldly and anticipate the verdict of Christondom by confessing them to be revolutionary, secisors that many surported its visitantial to the Virginia resolutions of 1798. This remarkable political document was drawn by Mr. Madison, then a member of the Virginia legislature. It originated in the passage of the alien and redition laws by Congress, which the resolutions declared were unconvitutioned, and then proceeded to define the rights of the States in the third of the series as follows.—

That the assemble doth semilative and recomments declared.

to define the rights of the States in the third of the series as follows:—

That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the powers of the tederal government, as results from the compact, to which the States are parties, as junited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable and danagerous exercise of ether powers, not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintening within their respective limits the authorities, rights and liberties appearaining to them.

This resolution of the Virginia Assembly was the basis on which the State of South Carolina rested her right of nullification and secession in 1830, and which Mr. Haype referred to as containing the good old republican doctrine of '98. It it apparent, however, that the idea of an authority residing is a State to decide on infractions of the constitution, is no where to be gathered from the resolution. The word is used in its plural form, and refers clearly to the States colectively, while the authority claimed is only to be exercised in case of a deliberate, paipable and dangerous exercise by one general government of powers not granted. It is not claimed that the right may be exercised by the State on any prezument and not a State is the party at fault.

This was substantially the view taken by Mr. Webster, in the debate on Foot's resolutions, and it was afterwards confirmed by Mr. Madison himself. In a letter to Mr. Trist, in 1832, he says:—

1 have received yours of the 19th, enclosing some South Carolina papers. There are in one of them some interesting views of the dectrine of secession, among which one that had occurred to me, and which, for the first time, I have seen the print, namely: that it one state can at will wilddraw from the

I have received yours of the 19th, enclosing some South Carolina papers. There are in one of them some interesting views of the dectrine of secession, among which one that had occurred to me, and which, for the first time, I have seen in print, namely: that if one state can at will windraw from the others, the others can withdraw from her, and tarn her, worked the control of the Union. Until of late there is not a State that would have abhorred such dectrine more than South Carolina, or more dreaded an application of it to herself. The same may be said of the dectrine of multication, which she now preaches as the only dectrine by which the Union can be saved. I pertake of the wonder that the men you many should view secession in the light mentioned. The essential difference between a free government and a government not tree is that the former is founded in compact, the parties to which are mutually and equally bound by it. Neither of them, therefore, can have a greater right to break off from the bargain than the other, or others have to hold him to lit; and certainly there is nothing in the Virginia resolutions of 1705 adverse to this principle, which is that of common senses and someon justice. The fallacy which draws a different conclusion from them lies in confounding a single party with the parties to the constitutional compact of the United States. The latter, having made the compact, may do what they will with it. The former, as one of the parties, owes fidelity to like its released by consent or absolved by an intolerable abuse of the power created. In the Virginia resolutions and report the plural number (States) is in every inelance used whenever reference is made to the authority which presided over the government.

THE QUESTION VIEWED IN A ENVOLUTIONARY SECOND.
We shall now deal with the question as one of revoluned obsolider—
Lef. The causes alleged as governing the action of the

ng States.
What should be the course of the government?

In all the great political convulsions which have taken place in the world, there has been the one unvarying justification of tyranous and oppressive acts, against which there was no other means of redress than open and violent resistance. From the day the English Barons assembled at Ennsymede, until the consummation of the Revolution of 1688, this principle of the ultimate right of resistance, where no other means would avail, has been acknowledged and acted on by that great ration, from whom we derive our origin. The history of all other nations offers the same instructive lesson; and our own Declaration did but enunciate, in appropriate and elequent language, a universal sentiment which had long before received the assent of mankind.

The sentiment, however, was not of rapid growth. Decounced in high places, its only refuge for ages was in the heart of man, and its only vindicator the sword.

Slowly, however, the world advanced to more just ideas of its strength and to a truer appreciation of its divine origin. The historian honored himself by defending it, and the publicist by incorporating it into the code of nations. It made its way, of entimes by the influence of a moral power, before which kings and potentates bowed themselves in the dust. No longer under the necessity of establishing its claims to recognition, it had only to show cause for the assertion of the decirine on which it rests, that resistance to oppressive and unconstitutional acts, against which there is no other remedy, is an inherent and hadefeasible right.

But in considering the causes on which the revolutionary action of the seceding States is based, it cannot each attention that they are not alleged to exist as against the government which they are intended to gubvert. The ordinance passed by the State of South Carolina cottains no word of complaint against the acts of that government. Nor is it probable that the proclamations of the conventions of other states will be of a different character.

We shall then have presented to the wor

lina centains no word of complaint against the acts of that government. Nor is it probable that the proclamations of the conventions of other states will be of a different character.

We shall then have presented to the world the extraordinary spectacle of a revolution for the overthrow of a government against which no bill of indictment has been presented by those who are piotting its destruction. Such a movement cannot fail to excite the astonishment and indignation of Christendom.

The performantation invites of the revolution states and indignation of Christendom.

The performantation invites of the revolution states are such a government, against whose acts no charges have been brought, be an extraordinary one, what will be said of the fact that the States which have commenced it, have for a long period had a preponderating influence in that government, and at this moment centred a majority of its co-ordinate branches. Such is the solemn truth; and which it takes from such a movement all that sympathy which real oppression is sure to call forth, it must deprive these who aid and abe; it of all claim on the charitable judgment of the world.

The General states are some activation of all claim on the charitable judgment of the world.

The General states are some some of the further states have such a movement of the fugitive Slave law, the interfering with slavery in the States, the exclusion of the institution from the Territories, the denial of protection as property under the constitution, and lastiy, the election of a republican President, are the chief subjects of complaint. In regard to the first point, it may be said that the administration of that law is the duty of the general government, and if there has been any want of vigor in carrying out and enforcing its provisions, the fault must in good part be ascribed to this cause. It is not denied that there is a repugnance to some of the provisions of the law in the minds of the people of the North, but it is nevertheless conceded on all hands, and by

the courts to be unconstitutional, and is therefore null and void.

THE PERSONAL HERRY BRIS.

Again, the personal liberty bills, as they are termed, were many of them passed previous to the enactment of the law of Congress of 1850, and could not, therefore, have had any reference to it; and the fact that the Sate of Virginia has at this time a law on her statutes containing essentially the same provisions, and enacted for the purpose of protecting the liberty of her free citizens, would seem to afford some warrant for the enactment of similar laws in other States. The whole difficulty on this subject has arisen, in the opinion of your committee, from the unnecessary severity of the provisions of the act of 1850; and they repeat the conviction already expressed, that if these were modified there would be a cheerful sequiezone in the enfercement of the law.

On the subject of interfering with slavery in the States where it exists, your committee deny that there is any considerable portion of the people of the North who affirm the right of such a procedure, or who have any intention of encouraging, much less of adding or abstiting, any attempts of such a character. The fact that both the great political parties of the North are denounced by the acknowledged leaders of the abelittonists, shows how wide is the chasm that separates that sect from the mass of their fellow citizens, and how little is there to be apprehended from their most carnest and persistent efforts.

Southern orthorous or the North.

The determined pertinacity with which the people of

The determined pertinacity with which the people of the South cling to the belief of a design to make war on their institutions is a striking proof of the eroneous ideas prevailing there on this question, or else of a determination on the part of designing men to faisify and misstate our opinions and purposes. It may be perhaps useless to reiterate what has so often been said on this subject, and inserted in political platforms; but your committee cannot refrain from once more solemnly disavowing for the people of the North, of both the great political parties, any intention or right to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it now exists.

In regard to the great principle of the dominant party of the Northern States, which is another subject of complaint, your committee desire, in the first place to say, that a principle which was engratted in the ordinance of 1787, and by the operation of which the States of the Northwest were preserved to free labor, can not be regarded by us with any other feelings than those of veneration and respect. That it was incorporated in a measure proposed and advocated by one of the greatest of our statesmen, himself a citizen of the South, and passed by the aid of Southern votes, should save it from some portion, at least, of the hostility with which it is now regarded by their descendants. By a series of acts, from the date of this ordinance down to the legislation of 1850,

sure proposed and advocated by one of the greatest of our state-men, himself a citizen of the South, and passed by the aid of Southern votes, should save it from some portion, at least, of the hostility with which it is now regarded by their descendants. By a series of acts, from the date of this ordinance down to the legislation of 1850, the subject of slavery in all our Territories had been withdrawn from the arena of politics, and it appeared as if the two great forces under our government, chained down by compromises and tired of a contest as old as the constitution itself, had at length declared a truce.

The repeal of the eighth section of the act admitting Missouri into the Union once more brought the subject before the country. By that act Kansas and Nebraska were opened to an institution which had already connected itself with the destinies of the three great States out of the Louislana purchase.

The principle of non-intervention, which was the basis of the settlement of 1850, to which the North reluctantly submitted, and which had been finally endorsed by the two great national conventions in 1852, was now made to apply to the territory covered by the Missouri restriction, and used as a cover for its repeal.

This act destroyed the considence of the people of the Northern States in the binding force of compromises, and with the subsequent acts of the administration in Kansas, led in 1856 to the first national convention of the republican party, and to the adoption in his platform of Jefferson's p linciple of exclusion. Whilst the history of that party, from that time until the present, has been a struggle to give this principle recognition in the administration of the government, thas never thought of using for this object any other than strictly constitutional mens. It achieved its first national victory in the large principle recognition in the administration of the government.

The adoption of the principle to give the with played and the problems of the propose of the settlement of 1550, to terri

Such has been the effect of the repeal of the Missouri compromise on a great national party. But that act has had a power to build up as well as to destroy. To it must be ascribed the adoption by the republican party of that same principle which the repeal of the restriction was intended to crush. "The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner."

THE PRINCIPLE OF EXCLUSION.

The principle of exclusion is a principle which can never be eradicated out of the Northern mind, how much-soever it may be expunged from political platforms. It has taken too deep a hold on the convictions of the masses to be any longer a subject of bargain and sale by political leaders.

has taken too deep a hold on the convictions of the masses to be any longer a subject of bargain and sale by political leaders.

Should it be struck but of the code of the party which adopts it to merrow, it would still find a refuge in the hearts of a great majority of the people of the free States. But whilst your committee feel bound in all candor to express this their solemn belief, they cannot refrain from remarking that the time when the principle shall have a practical application is uncertain and remote.

This is obvious from the following considerations:—

The Territories of Washington, New Mexico, Kansas, Nebraska and Utah, are already organized under Territorial governments. In regard to these, then, the statusof slavery is fixed by organic law. This leaves Arizona, the Indiag Territory and Dacotah still to be provided for, and this includes every foot of our public domain. Now, before these three Territories are organized under Territorial governments, the opinions of the Dred Scott case may take the character of declinons, and this would render the application of the principle inconsistent with our constitutional obligations. How muchasever this might be deplored, your committee have no hesistation in expressing the belief that the people of the free States could not be brought to disregard a positive construction of the constitution by the Supreme Court. In such a case we should have to rest our hopes on the obstacles to the introduction of slavery offered by the soil, climate and

the decision by strenuously opposing all further acquisitions.

Again, if no decision should stand in the way, the application of the principle would be defeated during the next Presidential term by the want of harmony in the co-ordinate branches of the government. The Senate alone could defeat it, even if the President and House of Representatives should favor it. Looking still further in the future, and judging of what may happen from our experience of the past, it cannot escape attention that the mutations of party make it extremely problematical what is to be the political complexion of the government after 1864. If these views are of any force, it must follow that the apprehensions of the slave States in regard to the principle of exclusion are without foundation, and that as a pretext for withdrawing from the Union, it is not entitled to the weight which is claimed for it.

The next grievance which your committee have to consider is, that the people of the free States refuse to admit that the constitution recognizes slaves as property.

The third subdivision of the 2d section of the 4th article of the constitution is in these words:—

admit that the constitution recognises slaves as preperty.

The third subdivision of the 2d section of the 4th article of the constitution is in these words—

No person held to service or laber in one Stare, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be duchas ged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whem such service or labor may be due.

Although the word "slave" is not mentioned here, there is evidence from contemporaneous sources that they are referred to, under the term of persons held to service, and the reference to them is therefore admitted. But here is no recognizion of slaves as property, even where they are held as such in States under the laws thereof. The constitution provides for their rendition, but does not recognize them as property, and to this extent only are the people of the free States willing to admit any connection of the government with the institution.

The recognition of the principle to the limit which is claimed for it by the people of the ossitution over all laws of a State. If slaves are property under the constitution, then no State would have power to abolish the institution, or to prohibit it within its territory; and by logical sequence it would prevail, whatever might be the lee loci, as far as the constitution of the constitution would open the slave irace winde without any legislation on the subject. There would be an evident inconsistency in punishing as piracy the dealing in a species of property which, by being recognized as such under the constitution, would become at once a legitimate subject of trade. All freaties made with foreign nations for the suppression of the traffic as piracy would have to be modified or annulled. In short, the world would be astonished at the spectacle of an action existing for more than seventy years under a misapprehension of the true meaning of its organic law.

The Intercents of a sectional reasons.

The only remaining grievance which re

protection would be against another section. Free labor is as much an institution one side as compulsory service is on the other.

THE PRESIDENT BOUND TO SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION.

As the course of the new administration on this, as on all other questions, must be governed more or less by circumstances, it can only at this time be a matter of conjecture. It cannot, however, in any event be otherwise than in accordance with the constitution and, the laws made in pursuance thereef, which the President is bound by his oath to support. Whatever his indictitual opinions may be, they can only regulate his conductin so far as bey have a constitutional contraint. Beyond this they may be held as convictions, but they can never constitute a rule of action in the administration of public affairs. A President, then, honest and capable, acting under his cath of office, and with no power to form a cabinet or to appoint even a consul without the assent of a co-ordinate branch of the government, is not at all likely to realize the gloomy apprehensions with which his advent into office is regarded by the South.

Such are the reasons which are put forth to justify revolution and perhaps civil war. They appear so inadequate as causes for an attempt to overthrow a government, that it is difficult to free the mind from a suspicion that they are after all mere protenses for a movement which had its origin in motives that have not yet been divuiged. If the secret history of the Charleston Convention should ever be written, it may appear that the proposing of an impracticable platform, and the withdrawal of Southern aid; and by thus insuring the election of Mr. Lincoln, afford the wished for opportunity to precipitating the Southern States into a rebellion."

CONTRACTION PLANTAIN PLANTAIN PLANTAIN PLANTAIN. In concluding this branch of the subject, your Committee have no hesitation in saying that, on the assumption of the reality and weight of the givenness complained of, a dissolution would cause them to be felt with tenfeld forc

In concluding this branch of the subject, your Committee have no hesitation in saying that, on the assumption of the reality and weight of the grievances complained of, a dissolution would cause them to be felt with tended force. If it is difficult, now, to carry out the procisions of the Fugitice State law, how could they be enforced at all as between a parate and Independent confederacies. There would then be to common constitution to operate over and above the lex loci, and bind the people to the free States to the observance of a provision no longer applicable to the new order of things. The case of a slace, excepting from Kentucky to Ohio, would be analogous to that of one excepting from Virginia to England. Whatever rights the Virginia master would have to follow his property to England and claim its rendition, would be the measure of the Kentucky master's claim on Ohio. Comity might settle the question in his favor, but in the end it would prove a reliance far less to be depended on than the constitution of the United States.

Again, a dissolution of the United States.

Again, a dissolution of the United States.

Again, a dissolution of the United States with those of the Pacific slope.

They would also be necessary for the millions of free laborers seeking homes for their families, with no capital but their own unaded energy and strength. Lastly, they would belong to these States on every principle of international law, nor would they ever be yielded up, except to an irrisistible power.

The ULINIA BATIO, OR COERCION BY ARMS.

If the conclusions arrived at by your committee be considered in the main correct, it will not be difficult to draw therefrom the rights and duties of the general government, in this important crisis of our history. Should these revolutionary movements be persisted in, the public property taken possession of, and the proclamations of the President and the decrees of Congress set at definite the public property taken possession that the government should the last remedy under the c

those who, disregarding their eaths to support it, shall neglect to call forth the power and strength of its provisions in its defence.

THE COURSE OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

That the course of the new administration, on this great question, will be such as will receive the approbation of the people of the free States irrespective of party there cannot be the shadow of a doubt.

Nor is it less certain that the position of the first republican President will claim and merit the approval of Union loving men in all the State.

Whatever his abstract opinions may be, he will, when inducted into his high office, administer the government according to the constitution and the laws. Your committee believe that the people of the Empire State will consider that they have but half performed their duty in giving him their meral sympthy and support. The State of New York made a great sacrificed for a protection which she did not need the control of commerce whose gates she possessed. With a firm determination to comply with all her constitutional obligations, she cannot, for a moment, consent that other states, on any pretexts such as have been advanced, may proceed to throw them off; and to this end she stands prepared, whenever the time shall arrive, to support the government of the United States, not only with her moral but with her material power.

THO, HILLIFOUSE,

BEND, F. MANIEGRE,

FETER F. MURPITY,

FPHRAIM 4525.

JOHN MCLEDD MURPHY.

Stitution of the United States wa Whereas, The Constitution of the United States was ordained by and for the people thereof; and, whereas, it establishes the parameunt authority of the Government, and provides for the perpetuity of the Union:
Therefore, Resolved, (if the Assembly coccur.) That

the people of this State, irrespective of party destinctions, do hereby decare that the rights of the people of a single State or several States, to absolve themselves at will from their solemn obligations to the federal Union cannot be acknowledged. The principle and the objects which the general government was formed to secure, are repugnant to such authority, and the exercise thereof, wheresover, or howseever attempted, is treasonable, and must be resisted by all the remedies provided in the constitution. The first duty, therefore, of the citizens of New York, is to be directed to the preservation of the Union.

Resolved, (if the Assemby concur.) That the Legislature will sustain the Executive of the State in the offer and pledge of the military power and resources of the State; and that they will oprovide for calling for the militar to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repol invasions," whether within or without the State.

Resolved (if the Assembly concur.) That the State of

State.

Received (if the Assembly concur), That the State of New York is faithful to the federal Union, and will make every needful sacrifice to maintain it in its integrity. At the same time New York will make equal sacrifices to support the several States in all their constitutional table.

support the several States in all their constitutional rights.

Resolved (if the Assembly concur), that Congress has no power to interfere with slavery in the several States, or any of them.

Fescived (if the Assembly concur). That although we believe Congress possesses the power to abolish slavery in the Fistrict of Columbia, yet it is inexpedient to exercise such power unless upon the following conditions:

1. That abolition should be on the vote of a majority of conditions to the district of the vote of the control of conditions.

t quantitative of Maryland.

2. That it should be gradual.

3. That compensation should be made to unwilling

alitied voters of the district, and with the

3. That compensation should be made to unwining owners.
Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That Congress should not inhibit or impair the inter State traffic of persons held to service or labor under the laws of the several States, or any of them.
Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That while the rendition of fugitive from service or labor is a plain constitutional obligation, and should be faithfully observed, the laws of 1850 contains provisions which seriously obstruct, if they do not prevent, Macacoution.
These should be modified.
ETHRAIM GOSS,
except the one as to the District or Columbia.
THOS. HILLHOUSE,
BENJ. F. MANIERRE,
PETER P. MURPHY,
A. J. COLVIN.

1 sign only as regards the resolutions, and in no ner intend to enderse or approve of the report. F. B. SPINOLA. The Report of the New York Assembly.

ALBANY, Jan. 18, 1861. The select committee to which was referred so much of the Governor's Message as treats of federal relations, together with the several resolutions which have been offered upon the same subject, submit the following re-

effered upon the same subject, submit the following report:

For nearly thirty years, and ever since South Carolina attempted to nullify the revenue laws of the federal government there has been a large class of persons in that State who have openly avowed a desire to effect the dissolution of the Union, and to that end, immediately after the result of the Presidential election in November last was known, a violent agitation was commenced there, and it has spread to a considerable extent over most of the slave States. Four of those States have already, through their conventions, declared themselves out of the Union. Others are likely to do the same. Forts, arsenals, dockyards; public offices, moneys and other property of the United States, have been selzed; the authority and laws of the government have been set at deflance; an unarmed vessel, bearing the national flag, has been fired upon and driven from the harbor of Charleston; preparations are believed to be in progress for taking possession of the Capitol at Washington and preventing the inauguration of the lawfully elected President. The whole country is suffering under the convulsions of this attempted revolution and an attempted civil war.

Your committee deem it inexpedient to enter into a history of the causes which have produced this unhappy condition of the country, and simply declare the position which the State of New York should, in their opinion, assume in the present crisis. She has seen with anxious solicitude the development of the feeling of hostility to the Union, which has finally culminated in treason and rebellion, and she desires to raise her voice in sisterly warning and admenition to the disaffected and belligerent members of our American family. Whilst she admits the duty of listening to and adjusting in a spirit of mutual forbearance and concression all causes of discord between the different States and sections of the Union, she repudiates the dectrine and denice the right of secession. All complaints and controversies must be settl

to violate its laws or absolve themselves from allegiance to it.

The State of New York has ewer been, and will continue, steadfast in her devetion to and support of the Constitution. She will faithfully perform all her federal and inter-State obligations, with an earnest desire to restore and preserve harmonious relations between all the States of the Union. And doing this, she will insist that the government shall be sustained, and the Union preserved. All her power, both moral and physical, will be exerted to uphold the majesty of the law and to prevent revolution and anarchy.

exerted to uphold the majesty of the law and to prevent revolution and anarchy.

But whilst taking this position, it is carnestly hoped that the country may yet be saved from the calamity of civil war. No honorable effort likely to secure that end should be omitted. In the midst of the revolutionary frenzy prevailing in some of the slave States there are large classes of citizens who continue obedient to law and loyal to the Constitution and the Union. Others are led astray and deluded with unfounded apprehensions of lawless interference with their rights on the part of the incoming administration. As they become better informed in this respect, and as they experience the evils of disorganized society, a reaction in the public mind may be anticipated, and a disposition

done, both sections assenting to it, the greatest obstruction to a restoration of harmony would be overcome, and without any sacrifice of cherished principles on either side.

The committee therefore report for the consideration of the House, resolutions expressive of the views herein stated, including those in favor of organizing all the territory at once into States, or by dividing it after the manner of the Missouri compromise. Provided that this disposition of the question shall be assented to by the slave States, with the intention thereby to restore peace and good will to the nation.

Resolved, (if the Sanate concur), That the State of New York has witnessed with deep regret and carnest reprobation, the attempt of some of the slaveholding States to overthrow the national constitution and laws, and to dissolve the Union which has conferred inestimable benefits upon all sections—that she denies the right of any State to absolve itself from its allegiance to the foderal government—and that she will put forth all her power and resources to maintain that government and to aid in the enforcement of its laws.

Resolved, (if the Senate concur), That the State of New York sincerely desires to avoid civil war by every means consistent with her honor, and to meet her sister States in a conciliatory spirit, to consider all differences of opinion amicably, to remove all just causes of complaint, and by mutual concessions to restore peace and harmony to the Union.

Whereas, the government of the Territories has long been a disturbing element in our national councils, and has of late given rise to political divisions that appear to admit of no compromise, and to threaten the integrity of the Union one party insisting that the general government shall protect slavery in the Territories, another that it shall profibit it, and still another that it shall not interfere one way or the other.

And whereas, all parties loyal to the constitution and Union agree that cach State has the sole and exclusive power of determining its

LETTER FROM HON. WILLIAM DUER.

A letter on the national crisis from Hon. William Due

is published in the Oswego papers. He declares the laws must be enforced and treason put down. There should be a united North, and no concession to unjust demands involving a change in the usual legislation of the country. The secession of the North must be guarded against, for New England is worth more to the federal Union than South Carolina or Georgia. He recommends-first, the enforcement of the laws; second, justice to the South, and the removal of every reasonable cause of complaint; third, the refusal of extreme demands in volving a radical change in the character of our govern ment, and opposed to the strong and general sentiment of the North; fourth, permission to the Southern States to retire from the Union, if such is their deliberate wish by means of an amendment to the constitution, obedience to the laws being strictly macted until this object is ac-

Oswego, Jan. 18, 1861.

THE REVOLUTION.

Important Reports from South Carolina.

Major Anderson Allowed to Procure Supplies from Charleston.

PACIFIC DISPOSITION OF THE SECESSIONISTS

Movement in the Senate Towards an Adjustment.

Probable Submission of the Question to the People.

THE DEBATE ON THE CRISIS IN THE HOUSE.

SPEECH OF MR. SHERMAN, OF OHIO.

The Rumored Invasion of the Capital by Marylanders.

How the United States Arms Have Been Distributed.

DETERMINATION OF GEORGIA TO SECEDE, &c..

IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON. THE RELATIONS RETWEEN SOUTH CARO-

LINA AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1861. There are no new developements in regard to the ques-

ions at issue between the President and South Carolina. Colonel Hayne did not communicate his letter to the President yesterday. He is holding it in reserve until he hears from Governor Pickens. At the urgent solicitations of nearly all the Souther

Senators and representatives Colonel Hayne has changed his purpose, as indicated in my despatch yesterday. Several leading Senators have joined with him in his letter to Governor Pickens not to make any such demand as he was instructed to make. They urge upon the Governor to allow Major Anderson to have such fresh supplies as he may require; and it is owing, doubtless, to the suggestions of the Senators and others who have addressed letters to their friends in South Carolina, that has induced the Governor to comply

The President's firm and decided stand in the matte of Fort Sumter has had much to do in changing the condition of affairs. Had he persisted or yielded there is no telling what would have been the result. There is no certainty that the authorities of South Carolina will back down from their demand, notwithstanding the efforts that have been made here to induce them to do so. The next forty-eight hours will probably decide the matter. It has been currently stated, and generally believed,

that South Carolina seized and appropriated to herself the funds in the hands of the United States Sub-Treasurer at the time of her secession. This, I am authorized to state, is an error. On the presentment of the first drafts drawn on him, after the secession of the State, the Sub-Treasurer applied to Governor Pickens for instructions, and his Excellency referred the matter to the Convention. The Convention determined that the State had no right to these funds, and they were left in the hands of the Sub-Treasurer, subject to the

I have just received a despatch from Governor Pickens, stating that Major Anderson has now uninterrupted mail facilities, and is allowed to send to market for fresh provisions and vegetables whenever desired. In fact, he has the same facilities that he had when he occupied Fort Moultrie.

sioner that all property seized has been declared, by the ordinance of the Convention, to be held subject to an adjustment of accounts between the two governments

South Carolina Legislature. It is utterly false that any special exaction has been made on negro or any other property. The contributions of negro labor bave been entirely voluntary on the part of those who have rendered it. It is also the same of contributions of money, which have been very liberal. It is equally false that Governor Aiken, or anybody else, has had any requisition for money or labor made on him. All the appropriations of the money thus far made by the Legislature have been furnished by the State banks in exchange for par, and the principal part coming from the Bank of the State, of which the State is the only stockholder, Commerce goes on as usual without restriction. There is no scarcity of provisions, and the market is at ordinary

IMPORTANT MOVE IN THE SENATE TO-WARDS AN ADJUSTMENT.

Washington Jan. 18, 1861. On the motion to reconsider Mr. Clark's resolution. nade in the Senate this morning, every republican voted in the negative-even Gen. Cameron, who made the motion to reconsider-but it was carried by democratic

The motion to strike out Mr. Clark's and insert Mr. Bigler's programme, submitted the other day, fixing the time to vote on the 12th of February, took the republians by surprise.

These amendments are similar to Mr. Crittenden's. The chances are in favor of their adoption. Several republicans in both branches have indicated a willingness to go for it. By general consent it was made the order for Monday next, with the understanding that it shall be voted on formally and conclusively.

So the end of this business will be decided on Monday. The Southern Senators are entirely willing, and have so stated within the last twenty-four hours, to accep either Crittenden's or Bigler's plan. This is the only thing that will put a stop to the revolution now running through the entire South. Will the republicans suntain it, and give peace to the country? Upon them rests the whole responsibility of saving the country.

MR. SHERMAN'S SPEECH ON THE CRISIS.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1861. In the House to-day the debate continued and closed on the Army bill, Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, the leader of the House, making the concluding formal speech. He defended his State against the charge of having upon her statute books any laws in conflict with the constitution, and Mr. Vallandigham came to his rescue by showing that an offensive Personal Liberty bill had been repealed. Mr. Sherman stated that he had conversed with from the South, who assured him that po concessions or ompromise a that the North could make would prevent a dissolution of the Union; that the Guif States would all go cut of the Uplot, and therefore he naturally

inquired, "What is the good of compromises?" He said, with much force and great effect, to the Southern mem-bers, "You do not say to us that you can either bring back the secoding States or save others from secoding if we compromise; but you are united in telling us that we must not correct he secoding States back to an obe-dience of the laws they have so grossly violated. On the other hand, you do tell us that you will be submissive, and you will not go out of the Union if we yield all our principles and all that we have four the control of the submission of the submi the South, very briefly, that the republican party would make no such concessions. They had violated no laws; they were not successfully charged with having done so. him, and he advised the Southern States to keep quiet and not pass judgment upon his administration in adciples in the past. The speech of Mr. Sherman is viewed

The previous question was called on the Army bill, and t was passed in committee. It appropriates ten millions

Notwithstanding the imminence of dissolution, politicians find time to discuss matters pertaining to the incoming administration. If Mr. Sherman's speech in the House this afternoon foreshadowed any branch of the policy of Mr. Lincoln, it was that the ultimathule of the republicans was to admit New Mexico as a State, a territery described to be one over which a turkey could not fly without starving, and, further, entirely repudiating Crittenden's compromise. This being accepted as the extent of the conciliatory intentions of the new administration, there would have been no doubt abou the course of the Southern States, but Mr. Sherman de-clared he did not speak for anybody but himself, and therefore he should not be taken as the mouthpiece of Mr. Lincoln. The speech will do nothing toward alleviat-

CONFIRMATION OF MR. HOLT'S APPOINT-MENT, ETC.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1861. Mr. Holt has been confirmed by the Senate as Secreta ry of War. The nemination of Mr. Holt was opposed by Senators

Lane, Wigfall, Bayard, Slidell and Benjamin. They all made speeches against him. Messrs. Benjamin and Wigfall were especially severe upon the administration, charging that the President and Cabinet had violated their agreement with the South Carolina members of Coppress, by sustaining Major Anderson in removing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter.

Mr. Crittenden said he did not insist upon the exact terms of the compromise proposition introduced into the Committee of Thirteen and since debated in the Senate; that he was willing to accept any proposition that would be received as an adjustment by the two sections of the country. He desired to save the Union. Kentucky, he said, is now the centre State of the Union, and enjoying all its blessings and protection. The formation of the proposed two confederacies would make her an exposed border State, with an enemy's territory for a frontier for four hundred miles. The people of Kentucky will never allow the State to be placed in such a position, as it would destroy all her material interest and all her security. The charge being made by Messrs, Slidell and Ben-Crittenden to declare emphatically that he was glad to know that Secretary Halt was a coercionist. He believed that a government without the disposition to use coercion was no government at all. It has no marrow in its the exercise of coercive measures is an act of discretion, and should be exercised with great care. This decided patriotic expression of the gallant old Kentuckian, in vin-dication of a citizen of his own State, who could not be present to meet his assailants himself, produced a deep sensation. Mr. Holt was confirmed by a vote as decided

as that of yesterday—34 to 13. Mr. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was tendered the office of Secretary of Interior, and declined it The admission of Kansas into the Union was the absorbing question in the Senate to-day. The subject will be renewed to-morrow, when it is believed that Kansas will be admitted, adding two new members to the Senate

and another member to the House-all republicans. Papers in the South and hereabouts publish the statement that Commodore Shubrick, of the navy, recently died at Pendleton, South Carolina: but Com. Shubrick is in Washington to-day, and well, attending to business. The naval officers at Pensacola Navy Yard have been for

mally detached, and are now waiting for orders. A son of W. I. Yancey has resigned his place in the Annapolis Military Academy, and has gone home. Senator Iverson has received advices this morning from Pensacola that Fort Pickens will be assaulted. Fort Pickens having recently been garrisoned by the federal government, it has excited the ire of the secessionists,

who are now in possession of Fort Barancos and the Navy The bill introduced by Mr. McKean, of New York, las town and Beaufort, in South Carolina, ports of entry Even in time of peace it costs much more to collect the

revenue at those ports than it amounts to. Mr. McKean's

desire is to stop the foreign trade and send a sufficient

view he is not alone. The statement that Mr. Lincoln is coming to Washingcompany, composed in part of some of his neighbors, ten dered their services as an escort, as an act of courtesy, There is no evidence and it is not likely that he

It is a singular fact that Colonel Craig, a thorough Union man, who was at the head of the Ordinance bureau, and the only man who was thoroughly posted in regard meries and arsenals to Southern secession States, was about to be transferred by Secretary Floyd to California when Mr. Floyd resigned, and a secessionist was to take

The Senate of the United States is fast changing its political complexion. Mr. Morrill, the successor of Mr. Hamlin having arrived here, there are now twentysix republicans in that body-within three of a majority against all opposition. If Kansas is admitted to morrow, it is believed she will be, two more Senators will come from there very soon. If the statement of Senator Benjamin made to-day is true, that he will not remain in the Senate but a few days longer, we naturally infer that he believes that Louisiana is going right out. This will take along with her Mr. Slidell, and leave the republicans one majority. The result of this will be a thorough re-organization of that body, a cleansing out of secessionists, and the appointment of men in their places who are loyal to the Union and the constitution. Following this we shall of course inaugurate a series of measures that will greatly aid the present administration in executing the laws, and making this government per-

manent and popular. Northern men are actively engaged in purchasing arms for the secession States. Is not this thing treason? A certain Chicago politician who enjoys close political relations with a distinguished Western democrat, is reported to have a commission in his pocket to purchase ten thou-sand rifles in the North for the distinion authorities of Mississippi, which State he has recently visited. compensation is a dollar a rifle, or ten thousand dollars for the lot, besides travelling expenses. If these rifles go South, they will soon be taken back. It will be a

cheap way for the North to obtain them. General Harnoy has been challenged by a late officer o the army. They are both in Washington.

IMPORTANT FROM GEORGIA

MILEDGEVILLE, Jan. 18, 1861.
The Convention was in secret session all day. At four P. M. it adopted resolutions:-First, declaring the right and duty of Georgia to secode; and, second, appoin Committee of Seventeen to report an ordinar sion, by a vote of yeas, 165; nays, 130.

H. V. Johnson introduced resolutions as a substitute for those adopted, looking to co-operation, inviting a convention of the South at Atlanta in February. Mr. John

son's resolution was lost. Mr. Stephens, during the debate, said if Georbia deternines to secede the sooner she does so the better. Caunon are firing, the flag of incependence is waving from the Capitol, skyrockets are flying, and there are

music and other demonstrations. IMPORTANT FROM LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 19, 1861.

The programme for Louisiana's accession is already agreed upon by the leading members of the Convention.

Arrangements are being perfected among the seconding States for holding a general Convention at Montgomery, on the 20th of February, to devise the plan of the new confederacy, to adopt the federal constitution, claim title, and ask recognition by the European Powers and the United States.

The President's message is strongly animadverted on [CONTINUED ON TENTH PAGE.]